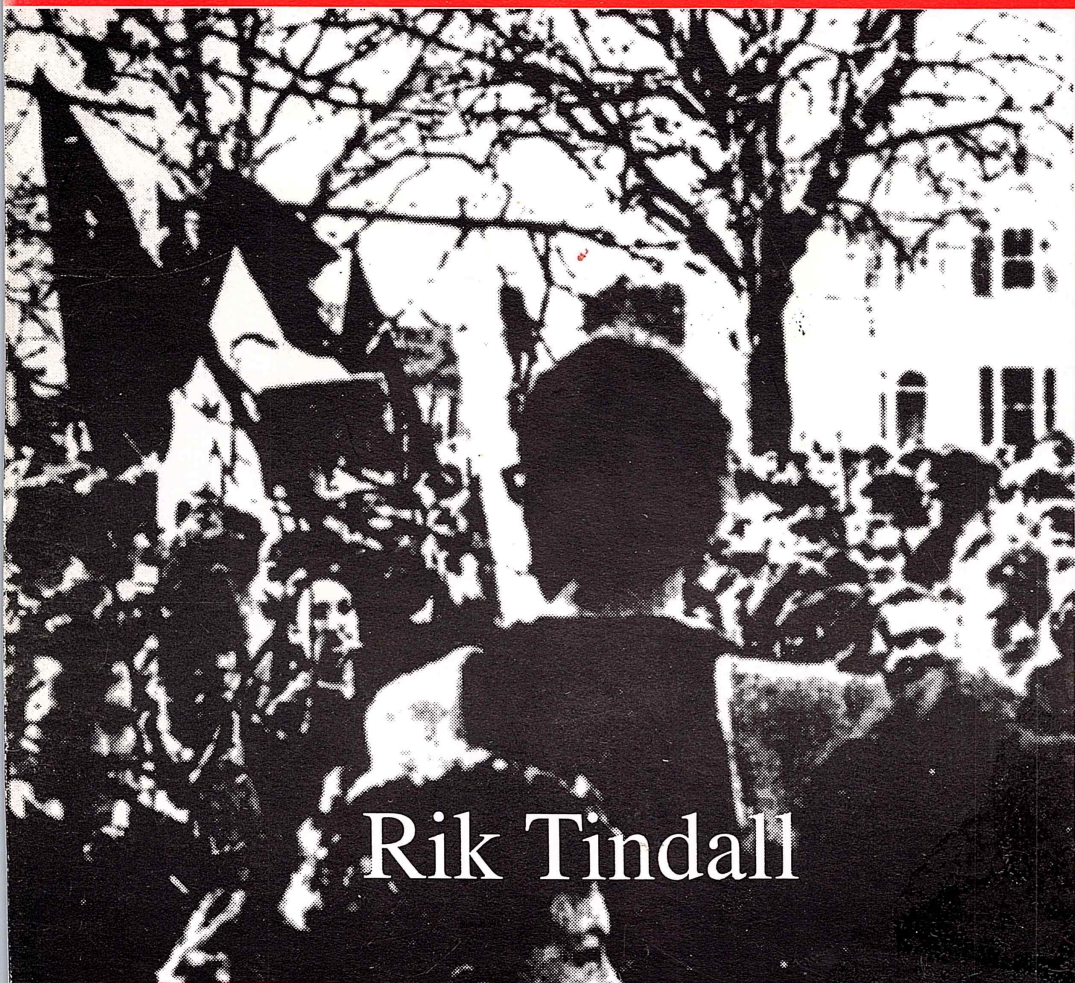


GENERATIONS IN DISSENT

*A Century of Protest from
University of Canterbury
Students, 1894 - 1994*



Rik Tindall

Credits

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Dedication	To the NZUSA and APSU Education Action Groups and their supporters, to progressives at every University, Polytechnic and High School across New Zealand, to students around the world, kia kaha e hoa ma. E nga tupuna o te ao marama nei, takoto i te rangimarie. Ka hao te rangatahi. Ki a ko Stella. Tihei mauri ora.
Disclaimer	Any errors or omissions in this book are likely to be the result of a tight production framework and schedule. No personal offence has been intended.

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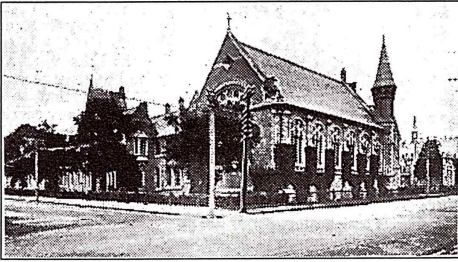
ABC	Anti-Bases Coalition
ANZAC	Australian & New Zealand Army Corps
CMT	Compulsory Military Training
CU	Christian Union
CUCSA	Canterbury University College Students' Association
Dialec	Dialectic (debating) Society
EAG	Education Action Group
ECT	Electroconvulsive Therapy
FEC	Full Employment Campaign
GCPCOC	Gulf Crisis Peace Committee
	Otautahi/Christchurch
GLF	Gay Liberation Front
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MMP	Mixed Member Proportional Representation
MP	Member of Parliament
NUS	National Union of Students
NZEF	New Zealand Expeditionary Force
NZUSA	New Zealand University Students' Association
PM	Prime Minister
Procesh	Diploma Day ("Capping") Procession
PYM	Progressive Youth Movement
Review	Canterbury (University) College Review
SAL	Socialist Action League
SCM	Student Christian Movement
SQC	Social Questions Council
UCSA	University of Canterbury Students' Association
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union
WEA	Workers' Educational Association



"First, a big welcome to two representatives of the student body to our governing board."

I

Foundations youth rebellion I feminism and debate 1890s



Above: Canterbury University College, founded 1873, now the Arts Centre; Women Cyclists in the Christchurch Botanic Gardens

Adjacent page, in descending order: the increasing, though sartorially hindered, participation of women in early university life
1. "The Needle and Thread Race" was

women's perceived limit in athletics back then
2. the first Inter-Collegiate Tournament team of 1902 included a number of women tennis players
3. CUCSA Executive of 1905
4. by 1907, about half of the Canterbury graduates were women

The great bulk of student protest stems from youth disaffection. It confronts the ruling generations in society and their authority structures, which so often lag behind the times in which they operate, reinforcing social order. Thus there have always been pressures at Canterbury University, concerning educational reforms.

Canterbury University College was the first coeducational institution in the British Empire. Acceptance of Helen Connon as the first woman student in 1876 set the scene for a tumultuous student protest life, formation of numerous sporting and cultural clubs, and of the Students' Association itself, thereafter. Breaking from the repressive Victorian era, women from more established families pursued education to help prove themselves the equal of men. From that base, other changes had to follow, such as women obtaining the vote in 1893. The relationship of women and patriarchy has remained a fundamental dynamic within student protest action ever since.

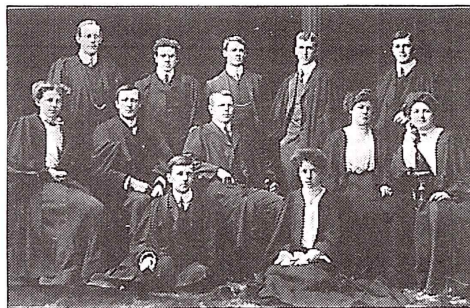
The early women students challenged social norms through participation in sports, such as tennis, rowing and cycling. Alice M. Burn, "the most outspoken cyclist, dress reformer and advocate for women's rights", was prevented from wearing 'rational dress' (knickerbockers, as pictured on the back cover) to College in 1894. Burn dropped out in protest. The cumbersome nature of 'respectable' clothing can be seen in the cyclists' photograph at left.

From 1878, the Dialectic (debating) Society provided a forum to discuss issues like the emergent "woman movement", to begin to effect change within society. 'Dialec' - as the club was sometimes affectionately known - and discussion were essential, because many male students responded wildly to being challenged from within their bastion of

privilege. Competitive bravado, manifested in increasingly raucous behaviour at the Diploma Day (Capping) ceremony, caused its cancellation in 1893. Student representations were made to restore this popular annual public event, and in turn led to the creation of the Canterbury University College Students' Association (CUCSA) in 1894, to bring discipline to the student body.

The objective was partially achieved in 1899, when Capping returned and festive male students initiated the annual Capping street march known as Procession (Procesh), inspired by Sydney students. Procesh diverted student "horseplay" off campus, and amused the general public and popular press alike. The Robert Godley statue in Cathedral Square, for example, was dressed in academic robes each year, to the police's chagrin. The participation of women students in the celebrations, however, was restricted to preparation of food for the afternoon tea. Over time, this division of labour became more and more resented.

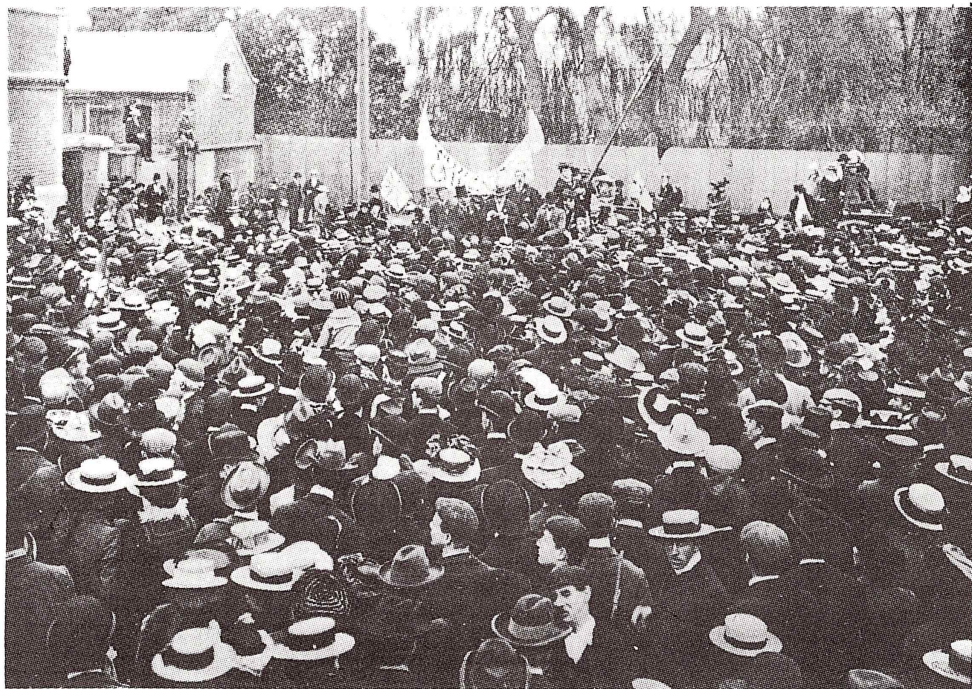
Greater unity was important and clearly facilitated by protest causes adopted by women and men students, concerning basic College freedoms and human rights. A good measure of true gender unity was achieved early, as students worked together on specific practical questions such as the provision of bikestands, comfortable lecture-room heating and seating, the struggle for a functioning university library, and against high study fees and any shoddy teaching. Much objection was made after 1897, for example, when November's exam papers went down in the *S.S. Mataura* off Cape Horn, en route for marking in London. This kind of fiasco would hasten separation of the colony from England, with collective student dynamism at the forefront of the independence process.



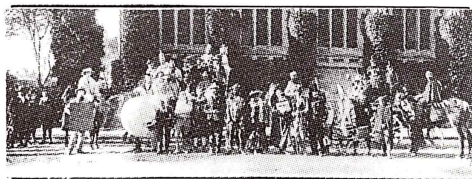
The twentieth century opened at Canterbury College with the erection of a flagpole, to fly the Union Jack. Australia proclaimed its statehood in 1901, and New Zealand students were similarly in the process of defining their identity nation-wide, under authority's watchful

1902, it seems. On that day, for the first time Canterbury students led a public, and spontaneous, rally, pictured below.

Dialectic Society debaters took the platform on behalf of students, after College, local, and central government figureheads had spoken.



eyes. Examinations by and academic appointments from a national university system were actively being sought. This paralleled mounting criticism of arrogant and barbaric British behaviour in the Boer War for South Africa, begun in 1899. A plethora of progressive, socialist and imperial 'defence' movements vied for the loyalty of youth, and their developing assertiveness within society. Establishment generations were demanding stability and uniformity. Yet all political wings could agree on celebrating the declaration of peace that closed the Boer War on 2 June



An ebullient relationship with the public and the press was forged from the event, which helped finally extract recognition of CUCSA from the College governors in 1904. That year, *The Weekly Press* first photo-reported the Procesh march, as pictured directly above.

With *The Press* offices shifting to Cathedral Square in 1909, the Christchurch city centre became even more of a focus for student demonstrations. The following picture shows the size of crowds gathering by 1911 to hear the annual speech of the 'Students Rex' from

the balcony of the United Services Hotel. The 'Rex' character succeeded satirical characterisations of the 'city mayor', as the role adopted by student presidents whilst attempting to direct Capping day antics.

The steadily-growing media and public



Adjacent page top:
2 June 1902 peace
rally, Christchurch
Cathedral Square
Bottom: Costumed
1904 "Graduates who
marched in the
procession"

This page: Cathedral
Square, Diploma
(Capping) Day, 1911

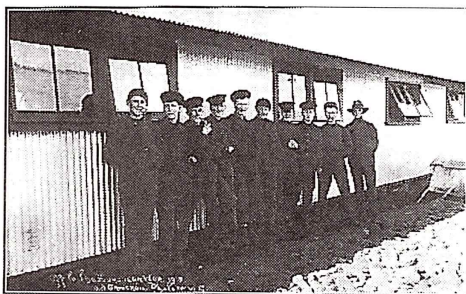
attention gave students confidence to press for the changes they needed from the College. 1904 had seen a vigorous offensive through the pages of *Review*, the first Canterbury student journal, against exorbitant study and graduation fees, and the lack of a College library. Chiefly a literary publication focussed on the College clubs, *Review* came out between two and seven times per year, until finally displaced by a regular student newspaper. But meantime, changing circumstances served to divert student agitation elsewhere.

The British Empire dominated heavily as a theme in the early Processions, and was an acceptable focus for middle-class gender co-operation. The success of the 1906 Capping Revue, for example, was attributed to women having played the female dramatic roles for the first time. Joint performances of patriotic songs became a frequent feature, entertaining the working classes, while imbuing them with royalist sympathies at the same time.

In 1909 a Defence Act replaced the Volunteer system, which had hinged upon elective officerships and regional autonomy, and introduced Compulsory Military Training (CMT). This took advantage of the well-prepared ground, to increase discipline levels within the male student population. It meant that the pursuit of a national generational identity could now be directed against perceived national enemies, such as the political movement for revolutionary working-class internationalism, early in the coming decade.

Prime Minister Seddon's 1905 decision in favour of centralising Engineering teaching at Canterbury College's School had led to a big influx of working-class students. That CUCSA pressed for and achieved hostel accommodation for them - avowedly to increase the level of control over their high-spirited behaviour - exemplifies the social responsibility increasingly taken on by student leaders in this

period, carefully channelling self-definitional student protest forms. Progress towards autonomy was short-lived. An Officer Training Corps was established at Canterbury College in 1909, but hastily scrapped by Major-General Godley two years later, because of its inclination towards rank-and-file control. The pressures of conformism became overwhelming.



In descending order:
"C.U.C in camp",
1915; in Egypt soon
after; and "C.G.
Johnstone (Killed)"

The early 1900s had seen development of the CUCSA from a voluntary assembly of clubs into a student organisation with a high public profile and tangible political clout. This meant it could intervene in the maturing class antagonisms of the wider society, which underscored student self-definition and protest. But alongside the centralisation of military authority in New Zealand - a British Dominion from 1907 - under CMT, bureaucratisation of the CUCSA tended to override democratic practices. This was evident in the reduced level of political commentary at Capping time, and isolation from the Labour movement.

By 1910 it was observed that Proceh was somewhat lacking in demonstrative placards and banners. The growing reactionary climate was exemplified in a 1911 Review article which attacked socialist ideals and the "indecent freedom of speech that people enjoy here", in favour of "the stocks and the cat" for reinforcing law. "Responsible persons... think that we need in this country some scourge, a pestilence, say, or a war, to remove... from mischievous persons the chance of grumbling about evils which do not exist." The highly-influential Christian Union (CU), led by Professor Haslam, was behind a "Student Volunteer Movement", and "various Missions [that] are trying to save the Pacific peoples from extinction, and raise them to a higher moral and spiritual state." Haslam started a rifle club and an inter-collegiate shield competition for shooting.

A lively anti-war movement - the Passive Resisters Union - had developed, including students, and was resistant to imperialist arguments. A Boer War monument gun from Victoria Square was unceremoniously dumped into the Avon river one winter's night in 1912. But despite the fact that student agitation could achieve progressive advances - in 1913

the college authorities finally accepted the need for a "separate and adequate" library - the tendency for a militarist development of student identity prevailed. Past and present Canterbury College men went to the First World War in droves, and died by the score.

The inadequacy of medical services at the combat fronts can be deduced from the casualty statistics: of 431 College-associated officers and men who went to World War I, 91 lost their lives and 78 were wounded. Of the smiling early New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) group pictured at left top, "C.U.C. in camp", incredibly all became casualties. During the 1914-18 War years, Review ran many photographs of and eulogies for the fallen, including that at left bottom, of "C.G. Johnstone (Killed)". Typically, many of the College volunteers were officers in the NZEF, on the basis of their former training.

The European war was not, however, the only means or avenue of strengthened student expression at Canterbury during the 1910s. Within Dialectic Society, by 1912 women students were holding the floor from male intervention, debating "That the Domestic Servant Problem can best be solved by Legislation." Poor wages and conditions in the service sector were raised for attention here. But the Labour movement was suffering transition from Liberal to (W.F. Massey's) Reform government at the time, and students more commonly aligned with the ruling class, as evidenced by Dialectic opinion "that Trades Unions as at present existing are a menace to the prosperity and industrial peace of the country". In 1913, a Procession float making fun of the "Butchers' Strike" provided disrespectfully bloody amusement. The waterfront strike of that year polarised opinion and loyalties dramatically.

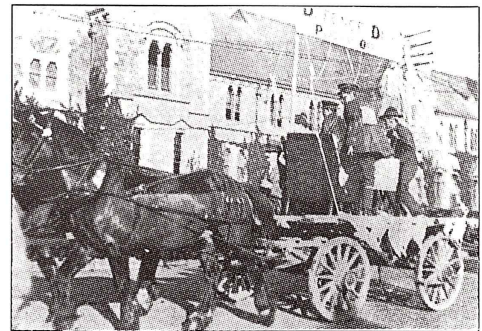
The First World War focussed aggression and channelled it overseas. CUCSA gave £20

to the Mayor's Canterbury Patriotic Fund on behalf of students, and proceeded to attack the Nietzschean philosophical background to Prussian expansionism, in 1914.

The next year, the exceedingly frivolous Procession was suspended for the duration of hostilities. 1915 also saw students demonstrating their Eurocentric racism by resolving "That the Restrictions on Asiatic Immigration into Australasia [should not] be Removed", in Dialectic Society debate. "That the British Nation is Declining" was rejected just as heartily.

Overseas, harsh reality matured the student outlook. "It needed a period on Gallipoli, for example, to appreciate the full pathos of 'the flesh-pots of Egypt'", wrote Douglas Seymour in the *Review* of June 1916. The teachings of Karl Marx were openly discussed in the trenches. The Russian Revolution of 1917 meant that colonial student soldiers would never be so blindly obedient again, after Godley's sacrifice of their young lives as a diversion for the British landing at the Turkish Dardenelles. Churchill's race for a Middle East naval fuel oil monopoly cost a naive 'Maoriland' generation dear, and students would not easily forget. An anti-conscription movement developed at home.

The photograph at right, from the reinstated 1919 Procession, shows that the crowds immediately returned to what might well have been Christchurch's biggest annual street festival in those times. Political content recovered with zest. Where a student float had critiqued government quarantine services four years before the 1918 influenza epidemic took a huge toll amongst the poor, now one followed up quickly on the issue of demobilisation assistance for all classes of soldier. A mobile "Defence Dept. Pension Office", replete with men in uniform, was rolled onto the streets to make the point.



Top: Capping day audience, Cathedral Square, 1919
Bottom: Agitating for returned servicemen's rehabilitation assistance, Procession 1919

Youth rebellion II bohemian rhapsody 1920s

In the wake of total war, 'the roaring twenties' was also the Jazz era of free thought and action. Defined thus in the October 1921 *Review*, Jazz style was antithetical to an education system drained of its dialectical content:

It is the scum, more or less iridescent, on the troubled sea we call civilisation. By the feeble violence of modern dance, we try to stop our ears to the violence of modern life. Jazz, we are told, is the product of an alien race, become degenerate by contact with the Western nations; it could never have found a footing among us if our own instincts had not been perverted by the ideals of an age of mechanism, and the type of education it fosters.

We British people have a trick of refusing to face unpleasant facts which puzzles other nations, who put it down to hypocrisy. Our friend, the Boche [German], never had any doubt of the aim of education. He used it to make a man [sic.] a mere cog in the national machine. Our ideals, when we are honest enough to avow them, are even more deplorable. Not long ago there appeared a scheme, and an excellent one so far as it went, for the education of lads intending to enter the engineering and allied trades. It was based on the postulate that as many as sixty or seventy per cent. of them would become attendants on automatic or semi-automatic machines. Surely, if we have reached the state of slavery to the machine that such a scheme implies, we should be wise to imitate the Erewhonians [utopians], and make the possession of even a watch a capital offence....

It is here maintained that mass production and mass education are closely related; ...that the whole tendency of modern conditions, education included, is to make a man useless if he leaves the narrowest of paths...

Rebellion against the military conformity of the previous era had taken a firm root. The above article's sense that the fruits of industrial society were passing beyond the reach of those who worked within it was supported by the poem 'Bolshevism', against mass-produced diplomas:

*...And get them stamped and pay thy fees,
And bring them back instanter...
That nothing may the System lack,
Tho' Staff and Students wither.
They brought them back; they bring them back;
And ever are returning;
And nothing doth the System lack,
Except - a wholesome burning.*

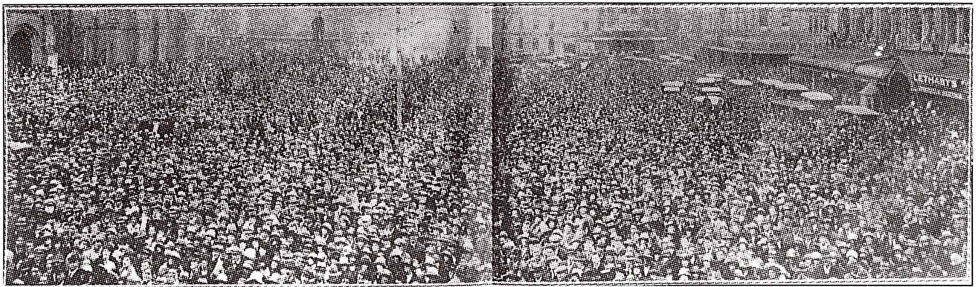
The First World War, with the social and technological changes it involved, set youth dissent into concrete forms. This was evident in many ways, including an obvious turnaround in class attitudes within the student journal. For example, when King Edward VIII was stranded by a railway strike during his 1920 visit, *Review* hailed the event as having put New Zealand on the map. Dialectic Society would hear the proposition "That the ideals of Bolshevism are practicable, and should be supported by the democracies of the world." Also, integration of students with the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) proceeded under the auspices of the new Economics Club, by providing teachers. Through *Review*, an unemployed returned serviceman was able to throw his pain directly back at the system and its rulers - 'Mr Comfortable Man'. The socialist author G.D.H. Cole was reviewed under 'Social Theory', and women were again accepted, segregationally, into the Capping Revue from 1928.

The newfound world awareness of the surviving student ex-soldiers was seen in the

introduction of Middle Eastern 'belly-dancers' to Procesh, as pictured below in the College Jubilee year of 1923. The massive audience drawn to Cathedral Square by the student cultural demonstration of that year is also shown.

1924 CUCSA Executive at right.

During 1911's Procesh, a float of "The Registered Barmaids" demonstrated the link between students and opposition to Prohibition-era regulations long agitated for by the Women's Christian Temperance Union



Top: Cathedral Square packed to the limits for Procesh speeches, 1923 - the university's silver jubilee (Godley statue visible in left rear of frame)
Bottom: 1923 'Belly-Dancers'

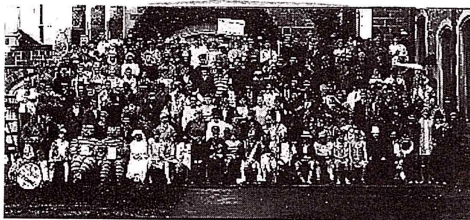
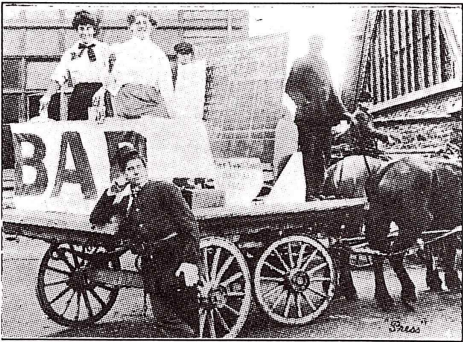
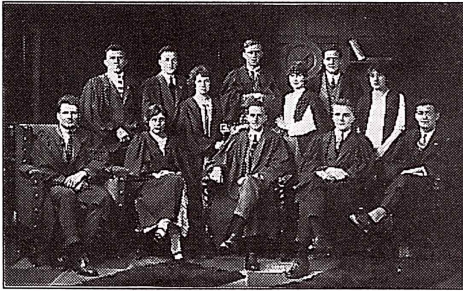
(WCTU). Smoking, drinking, dancing and dating were popular 1920s student pastimes for both sexes, keen to prove their rejection of establishment mores. Motorcycles and cars were adopted by the first generation of 'rebels without a cause'.

However the best-known expression of student independence in the 1920s was the campaign for, and achievement of, adequate and gender-equitable accommodation for social pursuits. In 1921, CUCSA club and society subscriptions were pooled as a comprehensive membership, with 25% of the income saved towards a Union building. A Building Fund was steadily gathered, and in 1928 membership of the Students' Association was made compulsory, parallel with College and Government cash backing for the scheme. The assistance modified the project, turning it from one of new construction to refurbishment of the then Rector's home, now the Dux de Lux.

On 5 October 1929 the first Student Union Building opened, stimulating greater social, sporting and intellectual life, and increased student responsibilities in administration. "A

College 'Flappers' had been known since the early 1900s, challenging the norms of hairstyle and dress, but the 1920s was the "classical" era during which women striving for their liberation took on this descriptive label. The appearance, which might include bobbed hair, and gowns with arm movement unfettered by sleeves, is captured well in the shot of the

Million for Everybody... Red Flags Free", read the most prominent Procesh placard of that year, in the final illustration here. 35 years after forming their Association, Canterbury students had at last won a tangible facility for relative political independence.



Top: 1924 UCSA
Executive 'Flappers'
with modified gowns
Centre: 1911 - "The

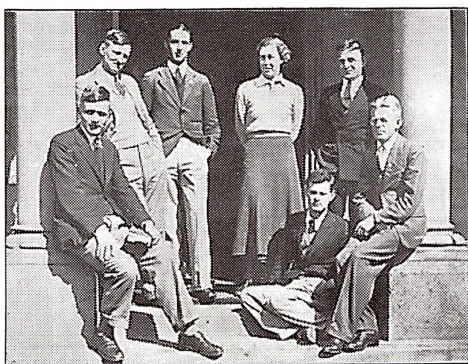
Registered Barmads"
Bottom: 1929 student
revue costuming and
placards

Gaining good resource space transformed the CUCSA. Similarly, material conditions would affect other social sectors. 1929 was also when the New York stock market crashed, initiating the global Great Depression. A new breed of student administrator rose to defeat the liberal and left-leaning tendencies which had flourished in the 1920s. No base for subversion this first Student Union, pictured overleaf. Procesh was the next territory to be claimed. A bawdy but still hugely-popular spectacle in the late '20s, Procession failed as a Union Building fundraiser in 1928. This led immediately to calls for women students to join in on collection duty. Charity causes were adopted from 1931, "the Mayor's Coal and Blanket [relief] Fund" being the first, which returned Procesh to financial success. But the transformation was deeply political.

Pictured next overleaf are Mr H.M. Thomson, the Studens Rex (student president) with his 'consort' vice-president, Mr J.G.D. Ward, departing for Procesh in 1931. Ward founded an extensive College and establishment career innovatively, as perhaps the first "procession controller" (then president, 1932-3). The element of control was marked. Thomson and Ward are flanked in this photo by face-blackened members of the "Nga-Toa Club", uniformed and armed with symbolic clubs. Created out of the defunct Misogynists Club by some College Professors and Rolleston House hostel men in 1930, Nga-Toa became the shock-troops of the "Purity Campaign, 1931".

With the Student Christian Movement (SCM) again arguing against intellectual torpor at the College, as before the Great War, this force set about cleaning up the perceived decadence of jazz. It endeavoured to turn student activism away from both drinking during Procesh and the working-class links fostered by it. The Depression had invested

these links with a radical political potential. A *Review* cartoon of October 1931 read: "The Nga-Toas, they say, are to keep order in Stud. Ass. Meetings. 'Wits & others will be summarily removed' - this place may become unsafe. It will be positively dangerous to leave



one's cycle to support the fence, or to appear without a gown...". The Union Building was guarded jealously against incursion from the growing movement of the unemployed.

A late-20s College regulation had made the wearing of academic gowns compulsory, but without success; student poverty underscored this period of youth rebellion. When the Government cut bursaries in 1930, student protest had gained a focus and was alive and well beneath the newly-founded officialdom. For example, a work-camp style scheme to accommodate and feed students cheaply, at the Addington showgrounds for men and in rental city housing for women, was able to win Executive favour. The public works camps were hotbeds of communist agitation at the time, culminating in the nationwide unemployed riots of 1932. The height of the Depression, that year saw Christchurch's Tramway Strike force complete abandonment of Capping festivities. Changing the class orientation of university life would be a very demanding exercise, so methods were modified.

Leading the transition was an artistic renaissance that founded a whimsical but determinedly earthy national style. Painters like Rita Angus emerged. *Canta* was inaugurated in 1930, with women students playing a big role from the start. Major literary names would emerge from the paper, going on to feature heavily in the independent journals *Tomorrow*, *Oriflamme* and *Sirocco*, and in foundation of the Caxton Press. Seen at left among the *Canta* staff of 1933 are John Curnow and Denis Glover (from left).

The change saw students mobilised against conservative authority. "President Ward Departs Amidst Tomatoes" headlined *Canta* on 21 March 1934, and "Glover's single-issue *Oriflamme* [was] effectively banned because of an article advocating 'free love.'" *Canta* viewed the formation of a Radical Club in 1936 as a

"necessity", and reform of the university system became a constant drive, to the extent of protesting the lack of safety for students in the Engineering workshops, for example. On the larger scale, annual quality and access problems with textbooks under the monopoly of Whitcombe and Tombs (now Whitcoulls) were passed on to a stronger body - NZUSA - in 1937. That year, the National Union of Students (NUS) became the New Zealand University Students' Association (NZUSA), based in Wellington. The NUS had resulted from intercollegiate sport and debate initiated by Canterbury students in 1902. This was institutionalised in 1929, from when CUCSA had been host, and then Otago. In 1938 *Canta* reported "Student slavery [and a] revolt against sweated labour". Serious efforts were made to see students federated globally, in their own common interests, but the World Student Conference in France, August 1939, came "too late".

By far the biggest theme of the on-going youth rebellion was opposition to the momentum towards war. Government study assistance for returned soldiers had been cruelly squeezed soon after 1918. *Review* became a form of collective conscience. It was transformed into the most artistic of mediums, bearing the anti-war message, poetic and illustrated as reproduced alongside here.

The 1930s New Zealand cultural renaissance began earnestly, forged in struggle. It identified with the renewed Maori resistance to dispossession, which was worsened by the generalised poverty of the decade. It tirelessly opposed the new war drive, under the first Labour government from 1935, until Labour themselves became the agents of war, dominating the Left-wing movement. Student administrations largely followed the Savage-Fraser government into social-democracy's wholehearted participation in the resurgent

period of nationalist "barbarism". In the sense of pre-World War I Labour movement belief, global society faced a simple choice between socialism and barbarism, and the repeat war saw the New Zealand Labour Party fail this most fundamental of litmus tests.

Left top: the first
Student Union
building, 1929

Left middle: Thom-
son and Ward's 1931

Process party

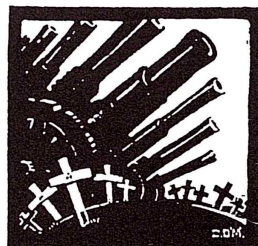
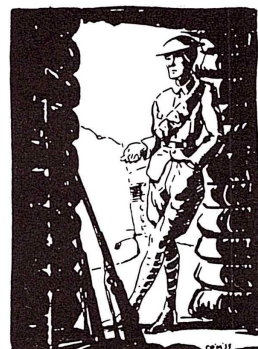
Left bottom: *Canta*
staff of 1933

included John
Curnow and Denis
Glover (from left)

Right: 1930s *Review*
anti-war art -

Top: "Morphia"

Bottom: poetry by
Denis Glover (who
later died in the
Normandy D-Day
landings, 6 June
1944)



'... their own inventions'

The dungheap worms still spawn beneath
ironically smiling stars
and mass-produced the dragon teeth
are sprouting in the field of Mars.

The flower of hope wilts slowly, dies,
and falls beneath the heedless sun
as these must fall for our poor lies,
the babies fattened for the gun.

No man need watch for future dawns
nor hope: from its appointed arc
a moon grown pale with watching mourns
a world rejoicing in the dark.

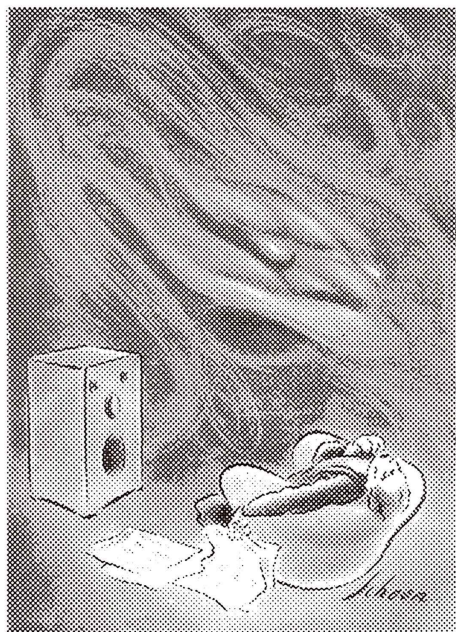
Internationalism against war Anti-nuclear and non-aligned 1940s and 1950s

With Army Recruiting rapidly installed in the Student Union, it was impossible for male students to avoid the war, without becoming pacifist. *Canta* immediately reflected the reversion to a war footing too - its first issue of 1940 was entirely sports coverage. Gone was the spirited critique of the preceding two decades. Steadily, however, creative new ways of resisting militarism bloomed, as when 'Bronze' poetically described contemporary "Sin" in the Review of that year:

REBELLION frees my brain in fury, a brilliant tide
Engulfs beleaguered years of cherished pride.
This night I do forsake,
Till blood runs cool again,
All virtue, honour and blind charity.
This night I'll truly make
First antidote to pain
Of sacrifice, remorse, humility;
For discipline no longer fight,
To smirking truth deny the right
Of guidance. Conscience shall not reunite
With action till the play
Of eager life is won
Through all experience...

1940 also saw two male German student refugees from Nazism finally arrive, after collective international action in the late 1930s. "Canta Reveals Appalling Overcrowding in Hostels" read an April headline, and Dialectic Society resolved that it wanted the war stopped. But the innovative protest form most characteristic of the new era, grown out of Revue, was drama. This was Ngaio Marsh's time, directing the stage work of the groundbreaking new generation of writers, and remembered in the images at right. Other forms of agitation prospered too, beneath the war censorship. Radical Club was "resurrected" by a meeting of 100 students in 1943, highlighting the plight of both

Conscientious Objectors and "Pacifism?". A "Student Worker Scheme" drew critical attention that year, and Mr A.D. McKenzie (pictured at far right) ran on a progressive platform as the Independent Youth candidate for Christchurch South in the General

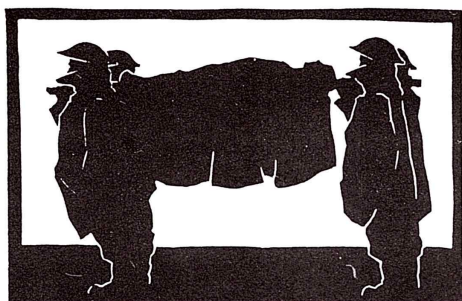


PROPAGANDA

Elections. A far-reaching "declaration of C.U.C. students[]" rights" outlawed "sex, colour, creed, or social and economic" discrimination against students, and "the use of the 'Bolshevik bogey' in student affairs, i.e. any attempt to brand a constitutional demand for reforms as revolutionary or subversive." But Cold War followed.

The 1939-45 war had ended with more New Zealand conscripts and volunteers dead for the sake of the Middle-East fuel oil, amongst other objectives. Achievement of these had tempora-

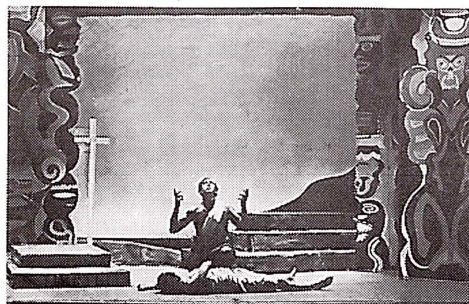
rily resolved the economic tension between extreme geographic isolation and specialisation in exports of bulky primary produce. But the new imperialism transferred the country into America's camp, a fact which rankled for servicemen and workers who had had their



Let four captains
Bear Hamlet, like a soldier, to the stage;



"LAY YOUR EARS BACK!"
(Ngaio Marsh in action at a rehearsal).



homes and wharves occupied by United States Marines whilst away on war service. Student dissent quickly merged with these currents after the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki ended the war. The humanitarian and internationalist cause grew ever stronger. It



A. D. McKENZIE
Defeated but Smiling!

Left: 1940s *Review* art and captions;
two images of
(Dame) Ngaio Marsh;
"The Axe" by Allan
Curnow;
and "A.D. McKenzie -
Defeated but
Smiling!"

was nurtured by "The University of Curious Cove" - set up by NZUSA, from 1949, as a radical summer school in the Marlborough Sounds - and church domination of progressive politics.

Repressing the radical dynamic was a new geopolitical world order, unstable so long as the bureaucratised Soviet Russia had any proxy influence in the Middle East that threatened American trade interests. The Labour government kept New Zealand on a war footing and was dumped by working-class voters, also in 1949, for maintaining conscription. McCarthyite "witch-hunting" for communists followed Sid Holland's National government into power, as *Canta* illustrated in May 1950, overleaf. Although student politics were greatly affected by the hysterically conservatised atmosphere of the day, independent thought survived. A hearing was given to Lyttelton Waterside Workers' Union

executive member McNulty during the "Wharf Dispute" of 1951, that coincided with high government links to Washington. Contrary to the outcome of the 151-day lock-out, when Socialist Club debated National Club "That the watersiders are justified in their actions in the

capacity at home. It was here that, parallel with drama and the arts, a revolution was taking shape, for the exploration of communal life, sexuality, and the self. See Mervyn Taylor's depiction of "Creation", below, in this light.

Witch Hunting...

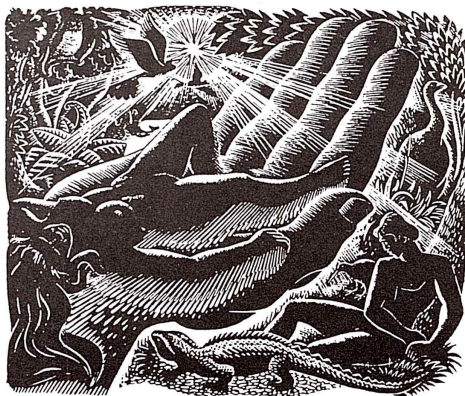
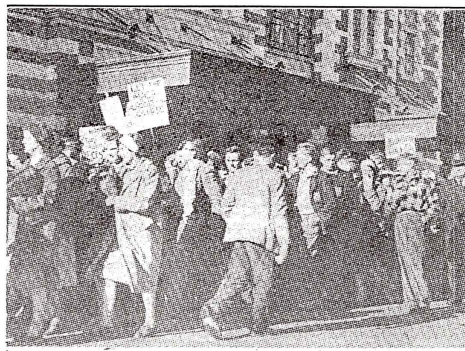


... Hunted

present dispute," the Socialists won. *Canta* took the line that United Nations intervention in Korea was justified as the kind of containment that had been needed against fascism in the 1930s, but by 1953 it was asking "McCarthy - White House or Gaol!"

Consciousness developed of the Asian region and its suffering, alongside the arrival of foreign-assisted students under the Colombo Plan. When Pat Sharma, a Fijian Hindu, was relieved of his visitor's permit for involvement in student politics, *Canta* queried "No colour bar here?" Similarly, the social conditions of South Africa were named as justification for bursaries for "Negro" medical students. By 1959 apartheid was hated enough to inspire perhaps the earliest Canterbury public student protest proper, imitating the Black Civil Rights agitation in the United States. About 700 students plus 100 onlooking-public picketed the City Council with placards reading "no Maoris, no tour" and "Let the Maori choose his course", pictured at right.

Clearly, racism had been located in equal



Top Left: US Senator Joseph McCarthy's English-speaking world 'witch-hunt' of Communists, 1950

Top right: 1959 anti-apartheid picket
Bottom: Mervyn Taylor's wood engraving of "Creation"

Youth rebellion III 'liberated' and anti-war 1960s

No youth decade ended more changed than the 1960s. Rock'n'roll may have been the '50s rediscovery of Afro-American rhythms, but it took the '60s Beatniks to make 'tuning in, turning on, and dropping out' (Timothy Leary) into a mass movement of youth revolt.

ORIENTATION ANGEL —By Liz



Began in 1959, Social Questions Council (SQC) had brought Radical Society, the SCM and College Halls residents together to discuss such issues as birth control, South Africa, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). A radical outlook was adopted by many students on all these questions, championed by *Canta*. "Wise Virgins & Foolish Ones" featured Pan Minor in 1961, arguing for the unfolding permissive society, that "the attitude that 'Sex is Shameful and Must Not Be Talked About' is dying. That is all." Pressure on Apartheid was similarly consistent, as seen when "Colour Bar Cricket" was protested in April of that year, as pictured at right.

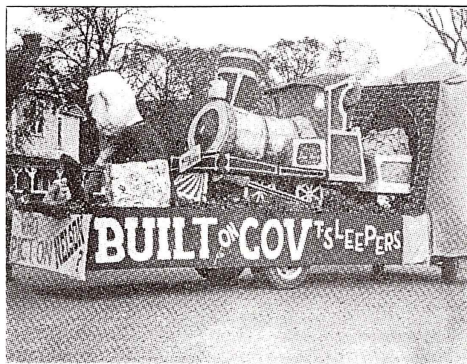
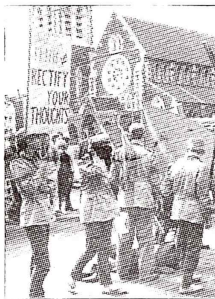
Early July 1961, Socialist Club was again re-inaugrated, this time as New Left Club, under the steady guidance of Wolfgang Rosenberg and Owen Gager. Students soon had their chance to demonstrate support for Rosenberg, who had just pamphleted against New Zealand's joining the IMF and the World Bank, for the unemployment and heightened imperialism he predicted would result. "MP

[Tom Shand] attacks academic freedom principle again" featured *Canta* at the end of the month, when a Half Annual General Meeting saw students resolve to "stand fast with Mr Rosenberg in defence of his ability and integrity," and with "intellectual freedom."



Top: 1960s student
socialisation
Bottom: 1960s
student anti-racists

The incipient youth revolt of the '60s was by no means universally high-browed. The following picture of police breaking up a private student drinking party was taken after midnight one rowdy morning in July 1960. However, the right to question authority had



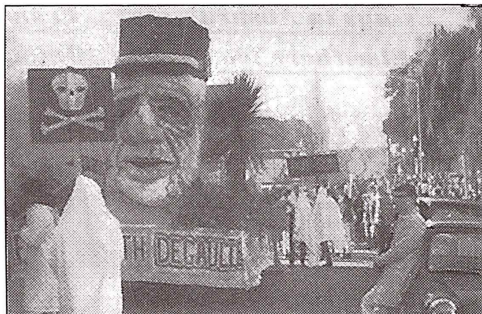
been formalised in the Christian-based progressive movements of the 1950s, which in turn formed the basic ideology of dissent in many student minds.

The sophisticated winning float from Procession 1960 highlighted government timidity for having cancelled the Picton-Nelson-Murchison railway link. Other working-class issues would now dominate, as *Canta* declared on behalf of Canterbury students, that "Procesh is our public relations effort." The Asia-focussed internationalism inherited from the 1950s was evident in the 'Coolies' bearing 'Miss Canterbury University' in the Avon river bike-race of 1960. This contradiction in student taste reflected society's wholesale adoption of consumer culture from America - the world's most advanced capitalist country - whose women were often treated simply as products. But as the decade wore on, the accelerating radicalisation of student youth led to identification with the peasant revolution which had carried Mao to power in China back in 1949, as the winning "capping stunt" of 1967 illustrated. "Over forty 'Red Guards'" made an appearance in Cathedral Square that day, lampooning the detested warmonger, PM Keith Holyoake, pictured at left, top right.

Come 1969, the Nationalist backlash predictably asked, without demographic justification, "Capping... a thing of the past?". Conservative reaction tried to justify America's stalemated and butcherous war in Vietnam, against a swelling antiwar movement. Three '67 Procesh floats critiqued French, American, and *The Press's* militarism. As part of the international student and working-class uprisings around 'May 1968', Canterbury students demonstrated against an American-networked radio transmitter located in the Southern Alps. The Omega protests, as pictured on this booklet's cover, confirmed

the 1959 precedent for mass student action, spawning the Progressive Youth Movement (PYM), Anti-Bases Coalition (ABC) and Peace Group, in coming years on campus. The PYM is pictured leading an anti-Vietnam War march through Christchurch, mid-1969, overleaf.

1960s student radicalism was fun, free and 'flower power', but it was also serious. In 1961 *Canta* asserted its independence from a conservative CUSA Executive, when the latter amazingly resolved to relinquish representation on the University Council,

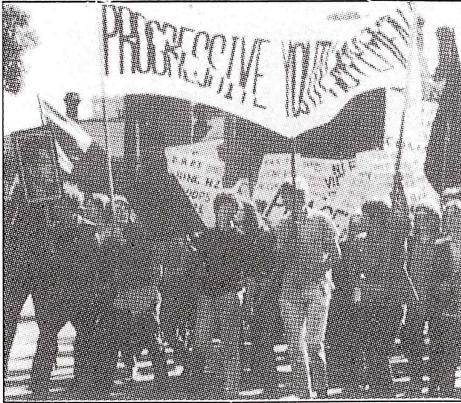


Adjacent page, from left top: "Who is throwing this party?"; "Revolutionary Peasants - Another bloated capitalist is destroyed in Red Square after a hearing in the People's

Court"; The winning 1960 Procesh protest float; 1960 "Baths, bikes and Cannon [House] coolies race in the Avon", below the Bridge of Remembrance

Above, clockwise from top left: "Capping ... a thing of the past?", three Procesh floats from 1967, criticise French, *The Press* and American militarism respectively

because 'the business of Council rarely included such matters as student welfare'; "Rescind The Motion", *Canta* demanded. A fresh Student Union Building Appeal was opened that year too, in preparation for the expansive shift to Ilam, to maintain practical student



independence. NZUSA became even more of an internationalist activists' network through the course of this decade, and a minority move for the disaffiliation of Canterbury from the national student body made no ground in 1968. But the tackling of real divisions amongst students over racial views and sexism, as illustrated above from a *Canta* of 1968, awaited a more resolute decade.

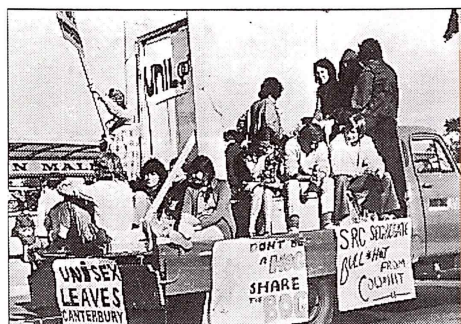
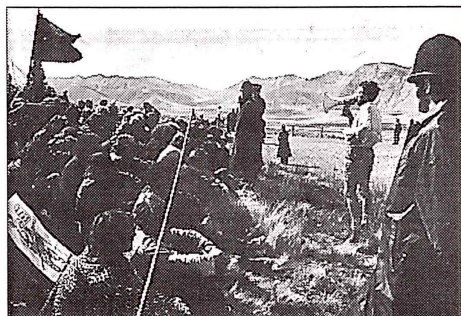
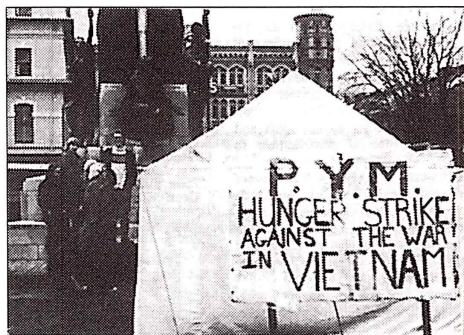
1970s student protest blossomed with the vitality of the '60s, then wilted under changed political, economic and ideological circumstances. The 30 July 1972 march through Christchurch city numbering 12,000 - half of them students, most of the campus at the time - marked the heyday of the "classical" period of student protest, against the war in Vietnam. The PYM had campaigned steadily, against ANZAC Day commemorations, CMT, and American militarism, with Rob Muldoon defining the nation-wide youth movement as "a totally unnecessary and totally undesirable organisation". From as early as 1968, National's Minister of Finance, the Hon. "Piggy", had been identified in *Canta* as an object of rebel hatred. Anti-war protests were informed by the phenomenal research of Owen Wilkes, pictured at right at the US Air Force's Mount John observatory, situated on University of Canterbury land, in March 1972. They were joined by leading local PYM activists such as 1974 *Canta* editor Murray Horton, and conscription-fighters like Marty Braithwaite.

But this decade grappled unsuccessfully with conservative ogres, owing in large measure to contradictions internal to the youth movement itself. The anti-war movement, now winding down, had transformed New Zealand political society. The transition was particularly evident in the escalation of the struggles against women's oppression, New Zealand racism, and for gay liberation. Whereas heterosexual "liberation" had exploded in the later 1960s, with *Canta* running articles on venereal disease, contraception and the "Perils of the Pill," gender constructs presented sizeable obstacles. PYM women were supposed to make the tea at meetings, while 'radical' men used The Resistance Bookshop to circulate *Cock* magazine. Post-war radicalism's foundation in Christian charity locked it into a male-

centred Creationist outlook. This led to the predominant depiction of women as models of sexual availability. At the same time it denied women the right to abortion. As the peace movement divided and *Canta* portrayed the "Bird of the Week", the separate gender

liberation campaigns were launched with vigour, though balanced by the collective student culture seen below in the pictures of a march for abortion access mid-1972, and the "unisex" Proceso float of 1972.

Challenging the double standards of



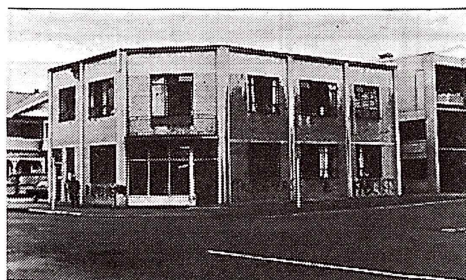
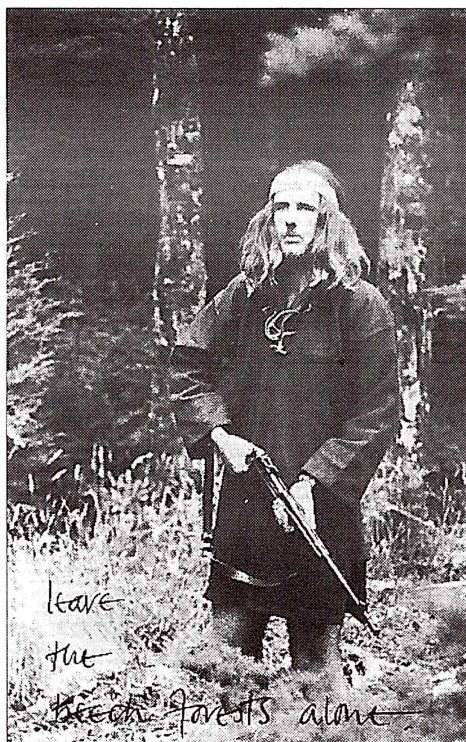
Adjacent page: 1969 PYM anti-war demo; and 1968 *Canta* cartoon that scandalised many students; This page, top left down: PYM anti-conception protest, Cathedral Square; Owen Wilkes at Mount John; "Unisex" Proceso float; Top right, down: 1972 abortion rights demo; 1974 Gay Liberation Front; 1967 sexuality cartoon

conservative authority in every field remained a constant theme of 1970s student protest, as the 1974 picture of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and the *Canta* cartoon from 1967 illustrated overleaf.

The difficulty faced by the New Left was that it lacked consistency. As anti-war unity fell away, the multi-layered and contradictory nature of capitalist exploitation came to light. Student protest simply lacked the political unity and coherence to cope with this at the time, in programmatic terms. Maoism was seen as an alternative revolutionary force to Stalinism - hated since the Russian invasions and student repressions of Hungary 1956 and Czechoslovakia 1968 - until the excesses of the Cultural Revolution revealed Mao to be just another Stalinist, patriarchal and homophobic state leader. The near-complete absence of revolutionary Marxism - as the Socialist Action League (SAL) had portrayed itself - led to near-complete disillusionment amongst student radicals. Those who remained gravitated to anarchism and violent 'propaganda by the deed', alienating both public and student pacifist masses alike. The SAL helped tame the restive political climate with its "Socialists for Labour" campaign of 1972, and introduced a Young Socialists club networking between most New Zealand campuses. Election of Norman Kirk's Labour government after twelve long years of National, alongside cessation of the Vietnam war, therefore did much to halt the mass movement of youth dissent. From this point onwards, its remnant would have divergent foci.

Anti-American urban and environmental guerillas spared no energies in their work to maintain '60s-style radical student protest, but as 'progressive nationalists' (for protection of resources from foreign capital, for socialism in one country). Large confrontations with police at U.S. armed forces installations at Weedons

and Harewood saw 23 arrested in March '73, and the American Consulate firebombed in August. Damage done and consequent graffiti is pictured below. This action resulted in two imprisonments and the deportation of Australian student Neil Riethmuller in 1976.

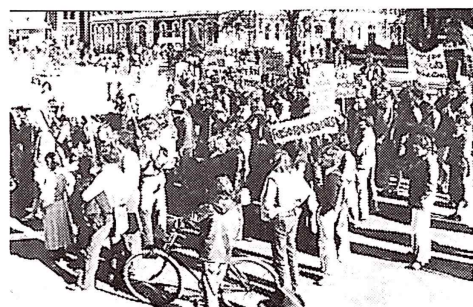


Greater unity was maintained in fighting racism, however. Limited Maori access to education had a high profile in 1970 and beyond, with Te Wai Pounamu College designated as the Capping charity for 1971, alongside appraisal of the Treaty of Waitangi. Students enthusiastically observed the arrival of Maori language teaching at Canterbury around 1972. Graeme Anderson and James K. Baxter presented on Maori spirituality and race relations, and the Polynesian Panther Party spoke out. Similarly, *Canta* included regular protests about repression of student dissidents in Malaysia, and restrictions placed upon their welcome here. After recession struck with the 1973 energy crisis, students supported organised labour in protesting deportations of Tongan overstayers. But the big anti-racist movement was focussed on Apartheid. 1971 had seen PYM disruption of Waimairi beach surf life-saving competitions featuring South African nationals, and the momentum stayed throughout the decade, recognising the anniversaries of the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres. Capping-time street theatre took the form of mock beatings and executions of face-blackened 'Africans'. Use of similar makeup continued in Procesh, despite the 1971 abolishment of the "Haka party", as some still shunned internationalist and bicultural mores.

On other fronts, a long-term campaign to prevent the raising of Lake Manapouri for hydro-electrical generation met with success around 1974. And new protests developed in 1976 concerning the sacrifice made by Irish hunger-strikers - the best known of whom was Bobby Sands - after the Bloody Sunday massacre of peaceful Irish nationalist marchers. Use by British troops of plastic bullets instead of rubber ones had quadrupled demonstration death rates in Northern Ireland. However, although the Irish Republican Army (IRA) was a source of inspiration to some, a distillation of

student politics was taking place.

Student involvement in the university political structure took a great upturn after 1967, probably to compensate for the separation of the new campus from the urban populace, producing archetypical career administrators.



Adjacent page top: nationalist environmental guerilla. Bottom: "Raped Vietnam, Murderers, fascists" - the 1973 fire-bombed US Consulate slogans. This side: 1976 cost-of-living march, rally, and speaker - David Caygill

The advent of one-time Young Nat David Caygill saw codification of student political voice by asserting ownership of the Student Union Building. This began with a fight with an old-fashioned University Council over installation of condom-vending machines in 1971.

Another Council-oriented student president later to become a Labour MP was Peter Dunne, who marked the conservatism of student politics with his opposition to abortion rights. The first woman student president, Fiona Baird, and then the second, Maree O'Sullivan, were elected in the mid-'70s, though both were quickly forced out. The arrival of Alf's Imperial Army and the Wizard heralded a return to less politically-conscious student revels, and backlash against feminist progress stemmed from a contracting economy. Thereafter, 'down-to-earth' pragmatism pervaded student politics, rejecting the internationalism of NZUSA and focussing action on problems now confronting most students personally.

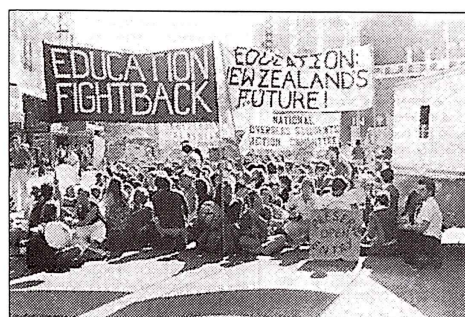
The long march from Ilam to Cranmer then Cathedral Square opened up public protest for adequate student bursary support levels in August 1976. Study fees were also a bugbear. The day of the radical student politician was passing, along with Rowling's Labour government after 1975. Reaction, Think Big and the monetarist '80s were rushing down. Bureaucratic counterweight was on the ascendant, focussed on narrow economic questions. A City Councillor now, Caygill went to the trouble of speaking to an increasingly disoriented student body gathered on that August 1976 day, as pictured on the previous page. Reputedly gifted in the art of radical rhetoric, the nascent politician had eight long years to wait before his words would be tested by practice. They were ultimately found exceedingly wanting.

As the youth radicalism of the early 1970s mellowed under conservative pressure, icons of the '60s cultural rebellion remained in *Canta's* drug features and music reviews. When these in turn staled, they were reborn in Punk Rock and New Wave style, revisiting the pill-popping 'Mod' '50s and setting the mainstream alternative atmosphere for the 1980s. Bursary protest marches into Cathedral Square had become an annual event in the later '70s. *Canta* itself had been the target for protest in 1979, with liberal quantities of horse manure deposited on the StudAss bridge in comparison. Outside issues had included demonstrations against ECT shock treatment of psychiatric patients at Princess Margaret Hospital.

But the student protests of the 1970s had primarily achieved reforms of the university system, by way of internal assessment. These had the ambiguous effect of instilling a work ethic which undermined the free cultural experience of academic life, largely displacing radicalism. A developing breed of efficient and curriculum vitae-conscious student administrators pushed the 'revolutionary' student politicians aside, locally and then nationally. Competitiveness in a shrinking job market overwhelmed much of the earlier student solidarity. Progressive politics had divided too, over levels of oppression and consequent priorities. However there persisted a constant stream of points around which student protest at Canterbury could rally, often on the deep-seated theme of international solidarity.

1 January 1980 was the date on which Government legislation came into effect raising a fee barrier against overseas students, affecting those from Malaysia particularly. It met with a sizeable two-day protest mid-1979, pictured at right. Long-term university funding cuts saw the 1980 protest calendar begin the

first week in March. "Education Fightback" was launched nation-wide, querying the cost of basic social needs world-wide, as against defence expenditure. Education Minister Merv Wellington was vilified alongside Muldoon. A difficult public relations exercise ensued,



against the boozy elite image students had now earned from the press. A Men's Consciousness Raising group followed; 16 April 1980 saw the biggest student street march for some time, with 1,500 from Canterbury joined by large Lincoln and Teachers' College contingents. A movement was building, which employed direct action methods like the sit-in obstruction of city traffic illustrated at left - three city intersections were targeted on the one day.

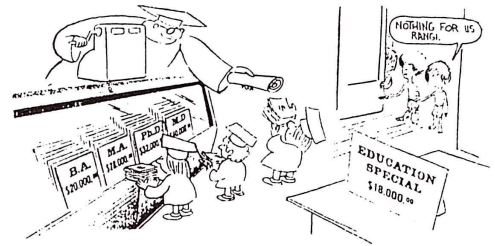
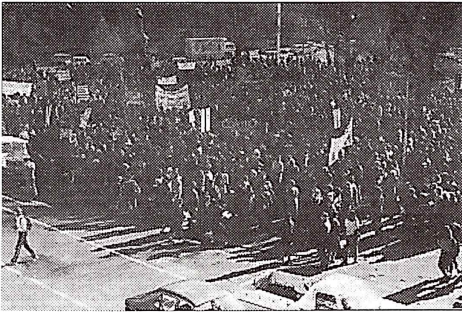
July 1980 saw "the biggest demonstration on the issue of Education since the last depression," numbering 2000 "students, teachers, teacher trainees, and parents." A constant theme of solidarity with organised labour and the unemployed had emerged, and students were urged through *Canta* to join the union when taking summer employment. This kind of networking gave even greater community strength to the now regular education protests.

Objection to Indonesia's occupation of East Timor since 1975 continued to be raised throughout the '80s, especially when a student national involved in protest against it here was victimised at home. Having labelled the new \$1500 overseas student fee as racist, preparations were now made for the definitive student protest of the post-'60s, under this theme. The 1981 Springbok Tour was on its way, and Katrina Amos was elected student president. The following pictures show 4,000 people gathered in Victoria Square for the National Day of Shame, 22 July 1981, and a student stalwart from '68, Marian Hobbs, addressing anti-Apartheid protestors outside the National Party offices in Lichfield Street. The third illustration captures the connections made that year between all ages of student, as in the anti-war movement ten years earlier. All were to discover the state's capacity to deploy uniformed, organised violence that

year, on and off the football field. The divisions suffered in 1981 by the student body - a microcosm of society - did not pass easily. Pakeha feminists were attacked from 1982 for their narrow perspective and social privileges, against the backdrop of continued unequal

education and employment opportunity on racial lines. These struggles were still informed by American experience, as shown in the last of the cartoons below.

Having divided and ruled by pandering to machismo and racial prejudice, Muldoon was



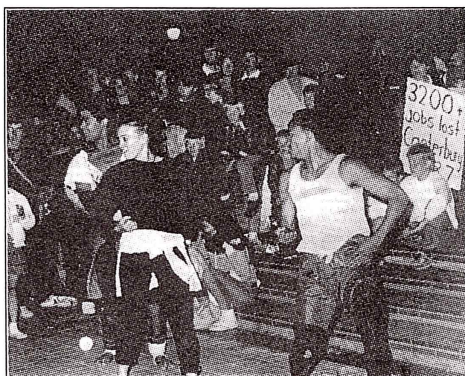
Something must be the matter with us.
Why can't we find jobs?

returned to Government in 1981. The education protests branched out into successful opposition to a second aluminium smelter at Aramoana, and continued even more focussed on putting Labour back in power. Students remembered how in 1975 they had pressured and won fulfilment of Labour's 1972 election promises for a Standard Tertiary Bursary (STB), and harboured expectations of continued patronage. An occupation of the university registry foyer early April 1981 included 60 and lasted fifteen minutes, in the spirit of militancy. *Canta* international student solidarity features touched on Australia, the Philippines, West Germany and beyond. Protest at the American invasion of Grenada followed, early '83.

National's 1982 wage, price and bursary freeze was deplored by many students, and the Nats were finally ejected from government in 1984. Students in the gay rights movement then had their day, campaigning successfully for homosexual law reform. But the victories were by no means sweet. A shift to the right in student politics characterised the mid-eighties, as one decade earlier. Protest was largely neutralised under a 'friendly' Labour government. Ex-UCSA president David Caygill worked in the David Lange Cabinet which had "Grinning Phil" Goff impose tertiary study fees. So in 1988, student activists reintegrated an economic critique to the reborn fightback, with the Full Employment Campaign (FEC) reaching out to demonstrate that education was a cross-cultural and working-class community issue, as illustrated next.

In 1989, Labour Finance Minister David Caygill attended a Special General Meeting to defend his life membership of the UCSA, and the No Frigates Campaign involved the Peace Group in challenging Labour's militarist tendencies head-on. A student loan scheme and study fees proposal from government was also

very actively opposed, on behalf of academic freedom. In June, a protest march through town in solidarity with the student-led democracy movement in China was held, after the Tiananmen Square massacre. Overall, student restlessness was growing.



Page 25: fighting fees for overseas students, 1979, with marches and sit-ins
 Adjacent page, left top down: 1981 anti-tour rally, Victoria Square; Marian Hobbs addresses the march, outside National Party HQ, Lichfield Street (stopping traffic); high school students mobilised against apartheid;
 Adjacent page, right: 1980s cartoons portraying layered oppression;
 Above: Full Employment Campaign rally, Cathedral Square, 1988

Peace and student poverty bursaries, fees & employment conditions 1990s

Seconding the tradition that a woman president can help bring about a radicalisation of students (if she survives the inevitable coup attempts), Suze Wilson was in office when Canterbury's biggest student protest ever took place over access to education. With fees creeping up,

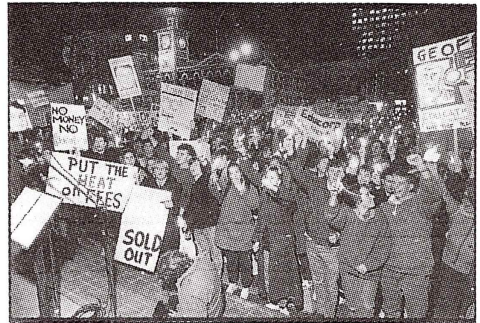
allowances eaten away by inflation and loan schemes proposed, 7,000 descended upon Cathedral Square on 21 July 1989, as pictured below left by *Canta*.

But 1990 saw the end of many things, including the large and increasingly ritualised



Above: 7,000 Canterbury students rally in Cathedral Square to stop education cuts, 21 July 1989

Above right: 6,000 rally, July 1990, with shock setting in at Labour's betrayal of tertiary students
Bottom: "Grinning Phil" Goff and Labour Party Thatcherism are hoisted by their own petard, in the 1990 General Elections
Adjacent page, left: 1991 anti-war protest; right: the slogan that overcame No Confidence in the 1993 UCSA presidential election - it was time to fight back

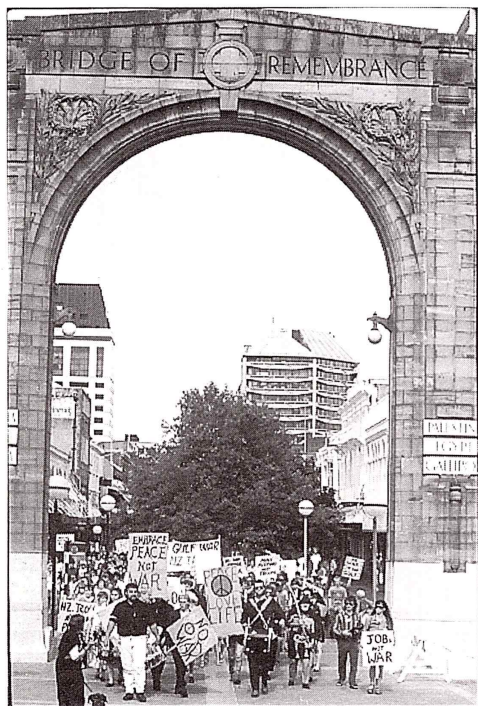


student marches through the city in protest at cuts to education support. An estimate of 6,000 was credited to the July march that year, pictured above by *The Press*. The big education marches were devastated in 1990 because Labour reneged on its 1987 pledge not to raise fees, and suddenly pushed them near the level imposed upon overseas students ten years earlier by National. New Zealand's sesquicentennial year then saw popular judgement dealt to Labour, in terms of its broken promises to students and to Maori, by withdrawal of the massive working-class vote which threw Labour out of office.

By 1991 the mid-winter education march could muster only 800 souls. However, "Black [attire] Wednesdays" - a protest form apparently initiated at Canterbury in 1988 and led by Chris Whelan and KAOS (Killing As Organised Sport club; Whelan became UCSA president in 1990) - continued as a focus. These mourned the loss of free education, for those students not selected for higher education on the basis of parental wealth and

private ambition, all the fewer now. More life existed elsewhere.

Youth style in the early 1990s was "grunge", a wild cross-cultural amalgam of much that had gone before, focussed upon '60s flower power. The genuine depth to this experiential

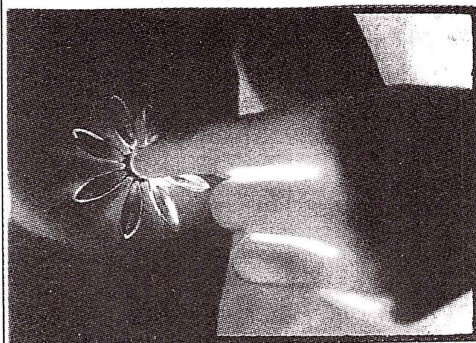


yearning was quickly proven. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait challenged Western imperialist supremacy from August 1990, and anti-war students played a large part in the Gulf Crisis Peace Committee, Otautahi/Christchurch (GCPCOC) during their summer vacations, as seen above in February 1991, again from *The Press*.

The collapse in 1991 of the big annual education march was symptomatic of the recurrent crisis in student politics, now set

deep. Gone with Labour was the cosiness of bureaucratic posts - if students were going to protest about anything in the cut-back, dog-eat-dog marketplace which National completed after Rogernomics, they had to perceive it as clearly being in their own

DIRECT ACTION



VOTE

unobstructed interests. By 1992 the Education Action Group (EAG) at Canterbury was compensating for the small student protest numbers with gimmicks and stunts to grab media attention, such as a rubbish bag fashion competition. The handful of jaded activists involved carried out agendas largely pre-written for them by disinterested student politicians, women and men. Not surprisingly, those activists eventually gave up.

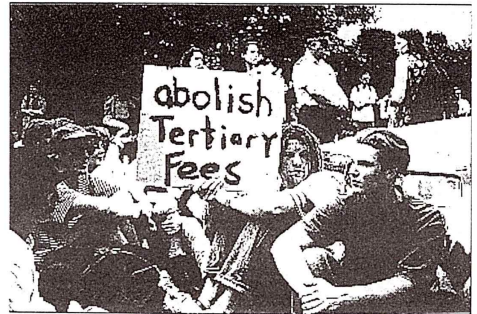
Yet prophetically somehow, a late 1982 *Canta* had been issued as '1992', with a headline prediction: "Fees Increase for 1993 brings rioting". Acutely foreseeing the prospect of fees "about \$1,000 per paper", the as yet figmentary "demonstrators" opposed a university "now reduced to a mere high level technical school for processing workers for

business". Shades of the 1920s, with consequent action to match.

When the Canterbury EAG was refounded in 1993, it was on an entirely new basis. Commitment to rank-and-file democracy countered bureaucratism through its Action



Christina Rizos won on a platform of "Direct Action", her election poster appearing on the previous page. Similarly, extending to three years the reign of women *Canta* editors, Isabelle Teresa took the poll for 1994 with a distinct activist commitment.



Programme, and mass mobilisation and political education of students superseded the idea of lobbying politicians. Student objectives were acknowledged to be part of a wider social struggle. The Campaign for Student Democracy (CSD) had set the scene earlier with a list of reforms demanded from the UCSA, and the presidential election was thwarted by a large No Confidence vote. When the election was re-run, fresh candidate

If one thing has been achieved over the past century of student protest, it is the most recent and relative equity of gender representation in student politics. Supporting this trend is the fact that the early '90s have also seen establishment of annual student-initiated and student-based women's and peace festivals, on alternate years. Consistent student protest cannot succeed now without seriously taking women's perspectives into

account. And the same might be said for Maori and Pacific Island participation, as student politics strive falteringly to develop.

Leading up to the 1993 General Elections, students took on the university authorities and government as one, campaigning to reverse accelerating tertiary fee increases and reinstate universal living allowances. "Fuck the fees, before the fees fuck you" was the now angry rallying call. By disrupting the November meeting of the University Council and holding the registry council chamber for three days in what became known as "the Occupation", students registered their blank refusal to bear further rises in study costs, winning wide community support. The university itself proved its sympathy by negotiating with the Occupation, and not calling for police eviction. The protest action extended to highlight many things, including obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi, National's combined and savage offensive against wage-working conditions and benefit levels, rejection of user-pays as a principle, and agitation for electoral change in the form of MMP. Our collective slogan was "Stop Economic Violence". A high public profile was regained by students on these issues.

1994 has seen the offensive parried back to the student body, with the Michael Laws private members' Bill to outlaw compulsory student association membership and the Todd Task Force recommendations for student contributions of up to 50% of course costs (15% presently). National's Minister of Education Dr Lockwood Smith, received a taste of student feeling towards National's allowance cuts and means-testing, on his visit to Canterbury April 13th. Smith was reminded of his 1990 election pledge to abolish tertiary fees or resign. Students blockaded him inside the Engineering Block, and his car in the driveway. He chose to escape out a window, thereby subjecting himself to public ridicule through the

newsmedia, as caricatured at left by the Wellington *Dominion*. The New Zealand Herald (Auckland), *Canta* and *The Press* (Christchurch) also ran cartoon variations on the theme of the legend Canterbury's students had thus created. Media coverage was gained as far afield as Czechoslovakia.

In May 1994, the UCSA declared its solidarity with the struggle of the maritime unions over working conditions on the Cook Strait ferries, in favour of collective bargaining and against the 1991 Employment Contracts Act. Student protest both for and against this declaration followed.

Adjacent page, from left: two scenes from the student and supporters' "Occupation" of the University of Canterbury registry, November 3-6, 1993; and one of Lockwood Smith's car blockaded outside the Engineering block, 13 April 1994, when Smith escaped out of a window; cartoon from the *Dominion*. Right: a 1970s cartoon adapted for use by the students now burdened by the substitution of loans for allowances, and rising fees



Conclusion

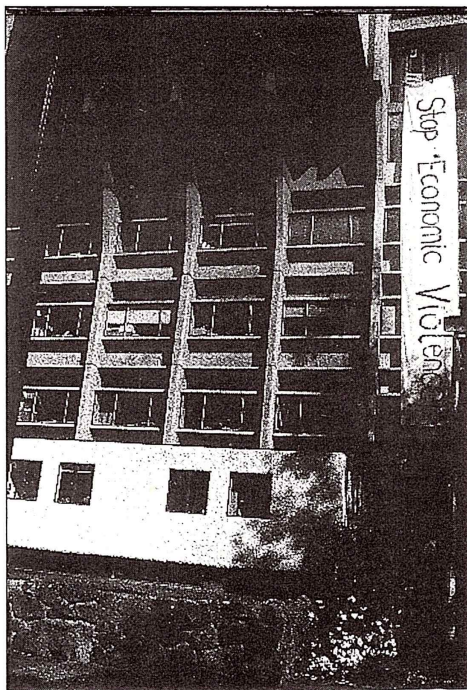
What has been learnt in the history and reform of the Students' Association so far, is that there is a real sense in which the UCSA operates as a union, representing the economic interests of a specific occupational group, and instilling collective consciousness for action. Periodically we rediscover our protest heritage under this process, as now in our centennial year. What we do at university is unequivocally part of the real world, helping to inform the struggles of others with whom we identify. We have always appealed to the public in times of need, via the media, to make known the lackings of justice that we see and experience.

But some big questions remain to be answered. As wars escalate in the former Yugoslavia and in Africa, today's youth is still assessing the morality of fighting them - wars for control over human productivity and the planet's primary resources. We need to ask ourselves again, who benefits from these wars, disguised as this is beneath fomented inter-communal strife and reactionary nationalism. We traditionally do this enquiring as part of the generation and the class that inevitably does the dying, in a system never designed to cope with the multitude of global needs.

In the meantime, we test alternative democratic forms that could go so very much further. NZUSA, our national organisation, is constantly challenged to learn more of direct democratisation, in order to survive. Individual participation in groups is the prime instructor, as self-expression is the key to personal development and liberation. To facilitate this throughout society, education must be freely available to all.

Our task remains to achieve that clarity and unity which will show the way forward to ending social and economic oppression in all its forms, as the one great human struggle. A comprehensive and accessible political pro-

gramme is essential to start us in this direction. Ever youth remains the generation in dissent. And so it begins. Employing knowledge, skill and youth, change always follows. With the determination to carry society forward and a clear consciousness of



the class structures that hold us back, the results can be extraordinary.

Kia ora tatou katoa.

Above: The University of Canterbury registry bedecked with the "Stop Economic Violence" banner, collectively created by the EAG for the "Occupation" of

November 1993. The moral battle for universally accessible social services - such as education, health, housing and welfare - continues.

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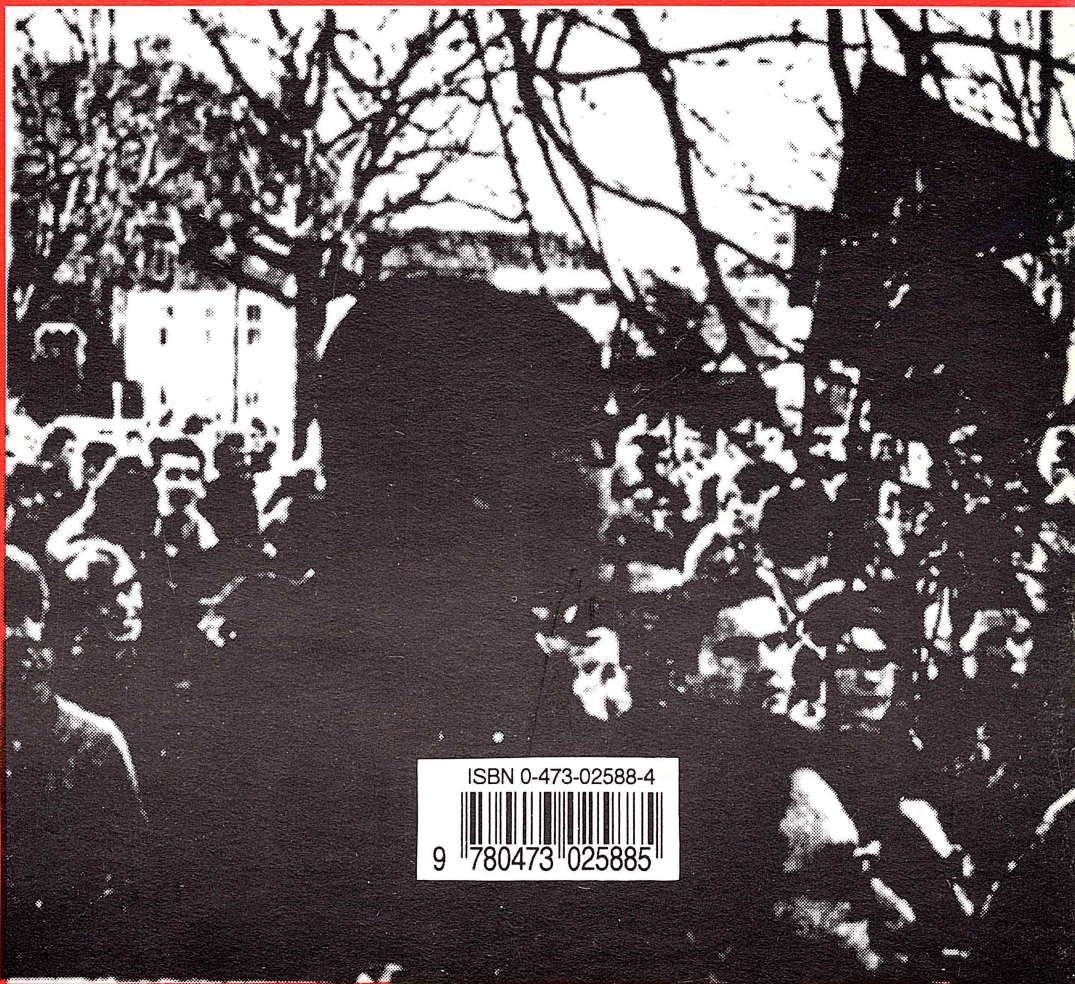
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Generations in Dissent samples the highlights of Canterbury student protest over the past one hundred years. The main themes are women's struggle for equality, responses to war, class politics, definition of national identity, and the growing influence of American culture over these processes. Illustrated throughout with eighty contemporary photographs and cartoons, some are published for the first time.

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